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The Canadian Indian

The Prairie Provinces

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Archaeologists and geologists generally agree that man came into the prairie region during the last Ice Age when much of Canada was buried under two giant glaciers — the Cordilleran and the Laurentian. An ice-free corridor separated these ice sheets and people entered America from the continent of Asia over a 1 200 mile stretch of land. Today, the area which once formed this land bridge is known as the Bering Strait.

From archaeological finds, it is possible to trace the migration routes of the diverse nomadic people who travelled across what is now Canada. Athapascanspeaking bands moved onto the plains from the northwest some 2 000 years ago. A "mound-building" people relocated from the south and remained in their new habitat for about 1 000 years. leaving traces of earthen burial mounds in southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Still other people travelled across the plains, leaving fragments of their clay pottery along the way. Algonkianspeaking people from the eastern woodlands began to advance westward. clashing with the Athapascans and vying for land. Alliances were made and broken, until strong tribal units emerged.

Early in the 18th century the horse was used as the principal means of transportation on the plains and western Indian tribes became more mobile. This gave rise to many changes in the political structures of these tribes. The Siksika, or Blackfoot, had joined with the Kainah, or Blood, and the Pikuni, or Piegan, to form what would be referred to as the Blackfoot Confederacy. These three tribes spoke a mutually intelligible dialect of the Algonkian language. The Blackfoot, Kainah and Piegan were joined later by the Sarcee, an Athapascan tribe from the north, and the Gros Ventre from the south. The Assiniboine broke away from the Dakota Sioux and allied themselves with the Cree. The Oiibway. or Saulteaux, pushed west from the Great Lakes during the 1730's. They were traditional enemies of the Dakota and soon joined with the Plains Cree. who were also newcomers to the prairies. The Woods and Swampy Cree continued to expand north and west. displacing the Athapascan-speaking tribes. Warfare for control of the buffalo grazing grounds was constant between the various tribes, and combat became even more widespread and violent with the introduction of firearms.

The Kootenay, a small tribe now living in British Columbia and northern Montana, was driven from the grasslands in the foothills of Alberta by the Blackfoot. The Kootenay adapted to a new way of life and, until the buffalo disappeared in the late 19th century, made annual journeys to the plains.

The Gros Ventre played a minor role in the history of Canada's Indian people. About 1820 they broke away from the Arrapho, a United States tribe, and joined the Blackfoot Confederacy for protection against the Crow Indians. The Gros Ventre occupied parts of southern Alberta and, until their Assiniboine enemies displaced them, they occupied Saskatchewan as well. In 1867 they quarreled with their Blackfoot benefactors, relations became poor, and a battle with the Piegan diminished their numbers and brought about their demise.

The Oiibway (Saulteaux)

The Ojibway Indians now live mainly in Ontario, but history records that one branch moved out from the eastern forests onto the western plains. They adopted the buffalo-hunting culture of the area and became known as the Saulteaux, a name derived from the French word, "Salteur", meaning People of the Rapids. In 1642, when they were visited in one of their main camps by the French at Sault Ste Marie, they called themselves "Bawatigowininiwug", People of the Falls. This name was subsequently entered in missionary and trading records.

In 1790 the Saulteaux and their allies, the Ottawa, lived in what is now the city of Winnipeg. As an Algonquin people pushing westward, they frequently became locked in warfare with the Iroquois during the 17th century and with both the Sioux and Fox throughout most of the 18th. The Cree became their allies because they shared their hunting grounds and the Saulteaux adopted the dress, lifestyle and warfare tactics of the Cree. They abandoned the practice of constructing domed lodges from saplings bent and covered with birch bark. replacing these with the hide-covered "tipi" so common on the plains.

Their religion was similar to that of the Cree, stipulating four types of medicine men, each with a clearly defined function. The Wabeno, or men of the dawn, could confer good fortune in hunting, handle fire without being burned and make people "fall in love". The Jessakid, a prophet, or revealer of hidden truths, had special gifts from the Thunder and like the Thunder, could harm people from a great distance. Herbalists, either men or women, were skilled in the medicinal use of plants and could heal the sick. The fourth and most important person was the Mida, a shaman who combined the offices of priest and medical man. There were four levels through which an aspiring shaman passed, and elaborate rites, feasts, and special training prepared a candidate for each level.

The Cree Thirst Dance and the Blackfoot Sun Dance compare with the Saulteaux rites of the Medicine Lodge. Tobacco was offered to the spirits and at sacred feasts the pipe-stem was pointed towards the sun. The Cree and the Saulteaux sang sacred songs of the Mida, with pieces of birch bark bearing symbols or memory marks serving as reminders to the singer throughout his lengthy song.

The Saulteaux also prayed and made sacrifices to propitiate evil spirits dwelling in caves, stones, twisted trees, rapids and lakes; and to ward off illness, they blackened their faces.

When a male child was born, friends were invited to a feast and a Mida was named as "godfather" to the child. When Peter Jones was born (later becoming a missionary) he was named, "Kahkewayquonaby", which meant sacred waving feathers - the feathers referring to those plucked from the sacred eagle and symbolizing the flight of the thunder. Thus the child was dedicated to the spirit of thunder. In addition to the eagle feathers, a war club denoting power, was given to him at this feast. As long as he kept these, it was believed he retained the protection of the eagle.

Bravery was admired and the right to wear eagle feathers in one's hair was the ambition of every young man. A single feather, tipped with a piece of red leather or horse hair dyed red, was worn by those who had killed an enemy. A feather split at the top indicated a warrior who had been wounded by an arrow. A single feather with a painted red spot identified a man who had been wounded by a bullet. The war bonnet with eagle feathers was worn only by a man who had killed several of his enemies.

Important matters were discussed by the Saulteaux at a council with representatives of each band. The ablest men were elected band chiefs and they communicated council decisions to their bands. Political union between bands was loose, but custom, religion and a strong clan system bound them together.

The family was the basic social unit of the band and each band consisted of several families related to each other. When they convened in the spring, there might be several hundred people camped in a small area. Marriage was a simple arrangement. When a young man proved his ability to hunt and support a wife, he made a present of his kill to the girl's parents. If they accepted the gift and asked him to feast with them, the marriage was arranged. He would spend the first year of his marriage with his inlaws, then he and his wife were free to set up their own lodge.

During the treaty era, the Government of Canada made joint agreements with the Saulteaux and Cree Indian tribes in Manitoba because they were so closely allied. There is no reliable estimate of the Saulteaux population prior to the beginning of the 20th century. In the census of 1911, 8 000 Indians living in western Canada were classified as Ojibway.

The Cree

The name Cree is a variant of Kristinaux, the early French appelation. The Cree once referred to themselves as the "Nehiyowuk", or the Exact People, and for geographical reasons were divided into three main tribes. The Plains Cree dwelled on the great plains frontier, the Woods Cree lived in the forests of northern Alberta and Saskatchewan, and the Swampy Cree lived in northern Manitoba and Ontario.

When firearms were first obtained by the Cree, their sphere of activity extended across northern parts of present day prairie provinces and into the Northwest Territories. In time, and with support from their Assiniboine allies, they soon occupied Saskatchewan and most of northern and central Alberta. In so doing, they displaced the Blackfoot, who, in turn, pushed the Gros Ventre tribe and the Shoshone from the Canadian plains.

In the ongoing warfare, the last battle took place in March, 1866, at Ghost Coulee along the South Saskatchewan River when hundreds of Blackfoot were killed. Shortly after, the Plains Cree and the Blackfoot made peace and exchanged young men as a token of mutual trust.

Mistawasis, or Big Child, head chief of the northern Plains Cree had been a young man when he first confronted the great Blackfoot chief, Crowfoot; now, the two chiefs maintained peace between their warring peoples. Later both men signed treaties with the Government and ceded their territory to the Crown.

The Cree, a religious people, observed many customs to gain support from unseen spirits which inhabited all living and natural things. They held an annual Thirst Dance similar to the Sun Dance ceremony of the Blackfoot, Sioux and other tribes.

Like their friends, the Ojibway, they established several degrees of medicine men. When a young man felt the calling to become a medicine man, he would leave the camp and fast for many days, until the spirits who dwelled in various animals such as the beaver and otter revealed to him his sacred helper and servant.

There were four classes of medicine men or shaman. The first, Wapunu, or Conjurer of the Morning, had the power to extinguish fire. The second was Miteo, whose extensive knowledge of roots and herbs was used to cure sickness. Miteo also had the power of summoning a person from a great distance, providing he had a lock of hair or a piece of clothing belonging to the person he sought.

The third man possessing magical powers was Kesikauiyineo, or Man of the Day, who revealed the unknown and found lost articles or missing people. To do this, he retired to a small tent to summon the spirits, and as they communicated with Kesikauiyineo, the tent shook violently. The fourth, Tipiskauiyineo, held the power to reverse evil spells.

Since the warding off of evil spirits was a concern of most everyone, each man carried a medicine bag containing charms and other objects related to his personal spirit helpers.

It was customary for the Cree and other plains tribes to burn the prairie grass in certain areas to drive grazing herds of deer, antelope or buffalo into streams where they were stalked and killed by bow and arrow. This practice continued even after the arrival of the horse when the prairie fires served another purpose. The growth of the tender green grass was hastened by burning the old grass in early spring and the hunters' horses, lean after the winter months, were fed.

On long journeys the Cree built caches to conceal food for their return trip. In summer, large quantities of saskatoon berries and choke cherries, were gathered, dried and pounded for use in winter, as well as providing an immediate food source for the Cree.

Dried sage was used for flavouring food and moss for making a special tea. Of course, the main food source sought by the Cree was the buffalo. The plains Indian tribes had many ways to prepare buffalo meat: raw, roasted, boiled, frozen, or dried and preserved. Pemmican was the mainstay of a family — a pound or two was sufficient daily food intake for a man — and during the summer this delicacy of powdered meat blended with fat and berries remained well preserved.

The Plains Cree lived in portable lodges or "tipis" of tanned buffalo hide, usually painted with black and red mythological figures depicting spirits seen in dreams and thus deemed sacred. When the paintings faded, the owner of the skin tent destroyed it out of reverence for the spirits.

Household robes fashioned from buffalo hide were decorated and painted with hunting scenes, conquests and significant events in the life of the owner. They were preserved for many years and served as a type of calendar which recorded the personal history of the artist and the history of his tribe.

Prior to the influx of traders all clothing was made with leather. Men wore leather shirts, leggings, breech cloths and caps, and women's clothing consisted of long robes with detachable sleeves. Both men and women wore buffalo-hide moccasins.

Special attention was given to hair fashion especially among Cree men. Explorer Alexander Henry, who met with the Cree during his travels in 1760 and 1766, described the various manners in which the Cree wore their hair: "Their hair is generally divided on the crown, and fastened in large knots behind each ear, from which is generally suspended a bunch of blue beads, or other ingenious work of their own. Their men have their hair adjusted in various forms; some of them have it separated on the top and tied in a tail upon each side: others form but one tail, which hangs down behind, around which is twisted a strip of otter skin or the dressed entrails of buffalo. . ."

The most important character of Cree folklore was Wasakaychak and stories of his adventures at the beginning of the world could be related only during the winter months. The accounts of Wasakaychak are legends about creation, good and evil, and the ways of animals and have moral overtones reminiscent of Aesop's Fables. Rev. Henry Steinhauer and Rev. Doctor Ahenakew realized the value of such literature, being Indians themselves, and set about collecting and preserving Wasakaychak's legends during the 1800's.

The Assiniboine

Called "the people who cook with hot stones", the Assiniboine had broken from the Dakota Sioux, the tribe from which they originated. They settled and hunted on the land surrounding Lake Nipigon and The Lake of the Woods. For them and their neighbors, the Ojibway, the pursuit of game and the harvesting of wild rice were the mainstays of a hunting and gathering existence patterned after the seasons.

By the 1700's many Assiniboine bands had drifted to the northwest, dividing into two offshoots. One branch chose to encamp at the treeline northwest of Lake Winnipeg, the other relocated southward to the valley of the Assiniboine River.

About the middle of the 18th century the acquisition of horses and flintlock rifles enabled them to expand their territory further west. Finding willing allies in the Cree, they opposed the Blackfoot Confederacy for control of the Canadian prairies. Pitting their skills against the Sioux, they made their way into the United States and waged war on the Mandan. The Kootenay and Salish tribes living beyond the Rocky Mountains soon found their lands threatened by the steadily-encroaching Assiniboine.

At the turn of the century the Assiniboine hunting grounds encompassed all the Canadian plains. Written in 1809, Alexander Henry's "Journal of Adventures" traces the vast expanse occupied by the Assiniboine: "The Assiniboine are from the Sioux. Their lands may be said to commence at the Hair Hills (Pembina Mountains) near the Red River, then running in a western direction along the Assiniboine River, and from that to the junction of the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan, and up the former branch as far as Fort Vermilion, then due south to the Battle River, and then southeast until it strikes upon the Missouris, and down that river until near the Mandan villages, then a northeast course until it reaches the Hair Hills. All this space of open meadow country may be called the lands of the Assiniboines.'

Henry estimated that at the beginning of the 19th century they numbered 10 000. In 1842 reliable estimates placed their population at 3 040. The 1890 Dominion Blue Book fixes the Assiniboine population of Alberta and Saskatchewan at 1 042. The decline in population resulted from smallpox epidemics.

The Canadian prairies abounded with wildlife during the first half of the 19th century and it is estimated there were more than 60 million buffalo grazing on the plains at this time. The Assiniboine were skilled buffalo hunters. Scattered bands of this tribe who lived near the mountains, however, demonstrated expertise in hunting deer, bear and moose as well. For these bands, fish provided an occasional change in diet.

Roots and berries, gathered by the women, were eaten fresh or in the case of the saskatoon, or service berry, blended with dried meat and fat to make pemmican. Food was usually served in wooden dishes, and utensils were fashioned from bone or horn.

Before traders introduced cloth,
Assiniboine dress was distinctly traditional — shirts and leggings of fine deerskin and moccasins of buffalo hide.
Geometric designs, using quills, shells, and other ornamental objects enhanced the appearance of the garments worn by men and women, and jewelry for personal use or for decorating weapons was popular.

The Assiniboine lived in conicalshaped lodges made of buffalo hide and painted with elaborate scenes depicting the deeds of the owner.

Babies, carried in moss-lined bags on the mother's back, were given names signifying certain physical characteristics or peculiar circumstances that had occurred at the time of birth. The boys were given new names as they grew and distinguished themselves in hunting or war. Girls, however, usually retained their original name throughout life.

Both men and women smoked tobacco and the carving of stone pipes reached a high degree of artistry among the Assiniboine. Suitable stone was an important trade item between tribes and was often transported a long distance from where it had been found. The Assiniboine had their own system of government administered by chiefs and councillors. At meetings all questions affecting the welfare and safety of the community were discussed and resolved, later becoming laws by which the people were governed. Within each community were appointed individuals responsible for securing the welfare of the people and assuring that community laws were kept.

Although few in number, warriors held places of honour in the tribe, and their skill on horseback and deadly use of bow and arrow made them feared opponents of the Blackfoot. Their love and acquired need of horses led them to raid Blackfoot and Blood camps in an effort to increase their own herds. In fact, a man's wealth was measured by the number of horses he owned. Horses were given as gifts to esteemed friends and to the father of a woman when she married.

The Assiniboine ascribed to certain religious practices with the Sun Dance being the most significant. Because of their frequent association with the Plains Cree, many rituals and beliefs were common to both tribes.

The Assiniboine buried their dead with great reverence. If, during winter, a person died some distance from the family burial ground, the body was carried by those who had come upon it and returned to the relatives. Burial was usually in a circular pit about five feet deep which was lined with bark and skins. The corpse was lowered in a sitting position and the pit roofed with logs and soil.

During the early reserve period of the 1880's, the once great Assiniboine tribe was divided and relocated to different regions. The Mosquito, Bear's Head and Lean Man bands settled in the Battleford district; Joseph's and Paul's bands moved to reserves near Edmonton;

Carry the Kettle's band relocated near Sintaluta in southern Saskatchewan. At first, Pleasant Rump's and Ocean Man's people lived on their own reserves in southern Saskatchewan, but in 1901, they moved to reserves with their Cree neighbours.

The Blackfoot

The Blackfoot comprised three tribes and were among the first Algonkians to move from the eastern woodlands to the plains and foothills of Alberta. The Siksika, or Blackfoot, the Pikuni, or Piegan, and the Kainah, or Blood, made up the confederacy which came to be known as the Blackfoot.

Tradition has it that the Siksika's ancestors lived near a great lake in the east where the soil was fertile and black. This dark earth stained their moccasins; hence the name Siksikauo, literally, Blackfoot. The name Piegan is derived from the word Pikuni, meaning "those who wear tattered robes". The Kainah, meaning "many chiefs", were often referred to as the Blood Indians.

Before 1800 the combined Blackfoot tribes had expanded and consolidated their territory east of the Rockies. By right of conquest they had fixed their western border on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. In the south they reached the northern branches of the Missouri River, extending east about 300 miles, and north to the Saskatchewan River.

By 1800 their lifestyle had evolved considerably from what it had been at the outset of the 1700's. People now had horses and firearms and life was easier. Inter-tribal warfare with the encroaching Cree and Sioux was always imminent, but more time was now devoted to religious and social ceremonies. Traders had arrived seeking buffalo robes and pemmican in exchange for firearms and tools and it appeared that trade would lead to prosperity. White traders reckoned the combined Blackfoot population at nearly 7 000. In 1877, at the time of Treaty No. 7, the bands of the Blackfoot Confederacy numbered about 45 and were known by such traditional names as The Tall Men, Camping in a Bunch and The Fish Eaters.

Each of the three tribes had a head chief with numerous sub-chiefs presiding over individual bands. The head chief was a peacetime chief governing in normal times, but who passed his authority to a war chief in times of trouble or danger. The Blackfoot had unwritten codes of law to govern themselves during peacetime or in times of war and these laws regulated social and domestic life. Military societies and fraternal organizations were appointed by each band as enforcers and ensured the welfare of the people.

When important gatherings were held, such as the election of a chief or entertaining visitors from another tribe, camp criers (usually old men) made the rounds of the camp to summon others. Male adults voted on important matters pertaining to war or communal buffalo hunts. The ability to deliver speeches was greatly admired amongst the Blackfoot tribes, and often an able speaker could sway an assembly to his purpose.

Warfare was a way of life for the Blackfoot and prior to the influx of white settlers they continually fought with the Cree and Assiniboine. When a war party prepared for a battle, a feast was held, religious sacrifices were offered and vows were made that would later be fulfilled at the annual Sun Dance. The war party travelled by day in their own territory, but once they entered that of their foe, they travelled by night. The element of surprise was often essential to victory.

When a Blackfoot warrior killed a man, he sprang from his horse and took his victim's scalp; the scalp-lock was about two or three inches in diameter. This custom arose as evidence of prowess. A scalp dance was held upon the return of the successful war party, and scalp-locks were carefully preserved and hung in the lodge as reminder of the owner's bravery.

When a Blackfoot man was murdered or killed in battle, there was great mourning, and revenge was considered necessary. They believed the soul of the departed could find no rest until it was avenged. The willful or accidental killing of one tribe member by another could be avenged by blood, or remitted by the donation of horses or personal property to the family of the deceased.

The Blackfoot were a religious people with each man having his own guardian spirit, revealed in dreams after a period of fasting.

The Sun Dance was held in midsummer when scattered bands of the tribe reunited and camped in a large circle of lodges. A large pole was cut and erected in the centre of the Sun Dance lodge which had walls from freshly-cut green branches. Inside, offerings and gifts of food which would later be distributed to the poor were secured to the main pole.

Women would sing songs or pray in silent thanksgiving for the recovery of the sick or for the safe birth of children. New names were bestowed on young boys, who then discarded the names they had been given as infants.

Young warriors might fulfil vows made to the Great Spirit who protected them on the warpath. A common method was to undergo a ritual that caused intense physical pain and left scars on the back or chest of the individual. Sharp wooden skewers were inserted through the muscles of the back or chest and lines fastened to the skewers were tied to the main pole. The young man freed himself by straining until his flesh tore away. He chanted and danced during the ritual, making every effort to show no evidence of pain.

The Blackfoot people worshipped Omuqkatos, the Great Sun, and much of their life revolved around the spirit world. Strangely shaped trees, irregular rocks on the plains and uncommon land formations were recognized as stopping places of the spirits. When someone fell ill, an item of his clothing was hung from the top of the lodge, to be blown by the wind. It was believed the spirits would stop when they saw this, and hearing the petitions for the recovery of the sick person, would assist the medicine man in his task.

The spirits of the dead, if not treated with customary reverence, could be dangerous to the living. When a person died his lodge was immediately removed to another location and food and clothing were provided for the spirits. The items placed beside the body were, in effect, symbols, and though they appeared to be left untouched, it was believed that the spirit of the deceased claimed only their essence. Bodies were wrapped in robes and positioned on raised platforms beyond the reach of animals. The soul of the deceased was said to travel to a mysterious land where game was abundant and the weather always fair. The length of time it took an individual's soul to reach this paradise depended on the manner in which he had conducted himself during his lifetime.

According to Blackfoot mythology, Nipi, the "Old Man", created the world and made men and women to keep him company. A story depicting a Great Flood and Nipi's re-creation of the world is reminiscent of the biblical story of Noah.

For the Blackfoot good and evil were personified in the Legend of the Two Brothers. Briefly, the legend states there once was an old man with a wife and a married daughter. The son-in-law was a lazy fellow and treated the old man in a cruel manner. One day the daughter was cooking some meat when a clot of blood fell to the ground. She picked it up and dropped it back into the pot. Moments later, she heard a hissing sound and looking into the cauldron, beheld a small boy. Suddenly the child grew and sprang from the pot as a voung man. He was named Kutovis. meaning "sweet grass", and soon became known for his kindness. He admonished the unkind acts of the cruel son-in-law, and one day, in a terrible fight, he killed him. The 'evil brother' was seen as representing the night, darkness and storms. The 'good brother', however, represented day, light and tranquility. Hence, the unending struggle between good and evil; between light and darkness.

As was the case with most Indian tribes, the Blackfoot perceived the passage of time according to the rhythms of nature. Periods of time roughly corresponding to the months of a year were traditionally referred to as The Moon When the Geese Come, The Moon When the Geese Go Away and The Moon of the Big Snow.

For the Blackfoot family, life centred in the lodge or tipi sewn from buffalo hides. The tipi was conical and supported by as many as 12 poles secured at the top and positioned firmly in the ground. The skirting was held in place by pegs driven into the ground. When camping, the leader of the band selected a site, indicating to his wife where he wished the tipi pitched, and other families proceeded to group their lodges around this main shelter.

Cooking fires were built outside the dwellings throughout summer and during winter stones were arranged in the centre of each lodge and a fire was kept burning. Tent flaps helped regulate ventilation. The place of honour was located opposite the door flap and was always reserved for the head of the family. Bags of food, tools, weapons and garments were hung from the lodge poles and sleeping robes for each member were laid out around the walls, and served as couches during the day. It was customary to cradle infants in decorated moss bags which laced up to the child's chin. In this manner, a child could be hung on the lodge wall while the mother worked at her daily tasks.

A child usually received its name at birth with environment and circumstances often influencing the mother's decision of a name. Later, when physical or behavioral traits emerged, the name was replaced by another. In fact, it could be changed as many as eight times during a lifetime. A man never disclosed his own name. It was revealed to him by another. Crowfoot, perhaps the greatest Blackfoot chief, had an interesting array of names bestowed on him throughout his life. He was initially called Astoxkomi, then the Blackfoot name. Kviah-sta-ah, or Bear Ghost, At one point, he was known as "Istowuneh'pata", or Packs a Knife, a name that had once been that of his father. Astoxkomi was a young man when he earned the name which he would make nationally and internationally famous. This was "Isapo-muxika", or Crow Indian's Big Foot, later shortened to Crowfoot by interpreters.

The Blackfoot were fond of colourful ornaments, and both men and women wore rings and strings of beads. Women made all the clothing worn by their families. Men wore breech cloths, leather shirts, leggings, moccasins and occasionally, buffalo robes. Caps of various furs were used during the winter and feathers were worn for ceremonies and symbolized badges of honour.

The training and racing of horses occupied much of their time as they were proud of their animals and wagered high stakes on the outcome of races. Colts were broken in by leading them into a marshy area and then leaping on their backs. Injuries to riders were commonplace, but the reputation of being a good horseman was deemed worth the inconvenience. After the signing of Treaty No. 7 in 1877, the Blackfoot were assigned to two reserves; one at Blackfoot Crossing, about 60 miles east of Calgary, and the other about 12 miles west of Fort Macleod. The Blackfoot, Sarcee and Blood lived at Blackfoot Crossing and the Piegan settled on the reserve near Fort Macleod. Because of inter-tribal disputes, only the Blackfoot remained at Blackfoot Crossing. The Sarcee moved to what is now Calgary and the Blood chose a reserve on the Belly River.

The Sarcee

The Sarcee, a small tribe of Athapascans, are scattered from the James Bay region in the north to the Great Slave Lake, and stretch as far south as California and northern Mexico.

History relates that they were members of the Beaver tribe in northern Alberta, and broke away after a quarrel. According to the story, a Beaver chief shot an arrow through a hunter's dog. This enraged the hunter who vowed vengeance. His friends came to his aid and 80 men were massacred causing great sorrow in the tribe. A truce was arranged whereby the young chief agreed to leave the band and take his followers south. Sixty men journeved southward along the shores of Lesser Slave Lake to the valley of the North Saskatchewan River and followed it eastward.

The main Beaver band heard nothing more of the wanderers until 100 years later, when a Beaver guide accompanied a white fur trader from the north to one of the forts on the North Saskatchewan River. They came upon a band of Blackfoot and the guide learned the whereabouts of the estranged band. The band now had numerous lodges and were constant companions of the Blackfoot people who called them Sarcee, the "hard speakers".

In 1820, Sir John Franklin estimated there were 150 Sarcee lodges with an average of eight persons per lodge, for a total population of 1 200. Twenty-one years later, when travelling for the Hudson's Bay Company, Sir George Simpson estimated the population at 350. Smallpox had taken a heavy toll in the intervening years. One traveller reported that he had counted about 100 "dead lodges" of the Sarcee, each containing an average of 10 bodies.

The Sarcee had been friends and allies of the Blackfoot, with the Cree as their enemies. The Sarcee were reputed to be a brave and warlike people who quickly adopted the horse and the buffalo-hunting culture of the plains.

Their lodges became larger than those of other Athapascans, and a man with 40 horses was considered rich, often supporting four wives. At 12 years of age boys were placed in the care of uncles who trained and disciplined them because a father could not speak harshly to his own son. Girls were trained by their mothers, and at puberty, marriages to older men were arranged.

The political and social organization of the Sarcee resembled that of the Blackfoot, with a head chief presiding over the tribe and a minor chief over each band. They adopted the Sun Dance and dancing and singing became popular pastimes. Rev. John Maclean, whose wife taught school among the Sarcee in the early reserve days, described them poetically and sadly: ". . . In the long winter evening they will gather in their lodges, or in their modern log houses, and, with drum and song, have a tea dance, where tea is drunk in profusion and the well-filled pipe is passed around Stories of the old buffalo days are told, wherein the narrator has been one of the principal actors, and as the aged man tells vividly of battles, scalps, hairbreadth escapes, horses, and women captured, and glorious wounds, the hearts of the young men are thrilled. and they long for the time when they may follow in the footsteps of their fore fathers; but when they step beyond their lodge they see the agent's house, and they are at once confronted with the fact that the pale-face dwells in the land, and he has come to rule. Thoughts too deep for words rankle in their breasts, and fain would they live a hunter's life and taste the sweets of the war. Brought into contact with civilization their native customs are dying out." In 1877 the Sarcee were included in Treaty No. 7 which was arranged by Lieutenant-Governor Laird and Lieutenant Colonel Macleod and signed by the lead chief, Bull's Head. The Blackfoot, Blood and Sarcee were assigned a reserve at Blackfoot Crossing. The Sarcee were dissatisfied with their land and were later removed to a reserve near Calgary where they still live. In 1889 there remained only 336 Sarcee. The current population is 4020.

The Sioux

The Sioux, or Dakota Indians, are a large confederacy of tribes scattered over the American plains and the Canadian west which speak the same language. The name Sioux is actually derived from the Ojibway word Nadouessioux, meaning "adders" in the sense of enemies or hated foes. White traders abbreviated this to Sioux. The Sioux themselves, however, referred to their people as Dakota. or "our friends".

Nearly two centuries ago the Sioux fought the Cree north of the borders of present day Manitoba. One of their branches, the Assiniboine, occupied large areas of Saskatchewan. The Assiniboine made peace with the Cree and they became allies about 1770. The Assiniboine, however, retained their own hunting grounds and are recognized as a separate tribe. Today they are Treaty Indians, while the Sioux parent tribe, which came to Canada as refugees from the United States, are not.

The Siouan way of life was much like that of other prairie people. The most distinguishing feature of their apparel was the design of their ornate moccasins with the geometric beadwork or quill pattern, containing a great deal of symbolism. The elaborate feathered headdress of the Sioux warriors has been copied and adopted for ceremonial use by many other tribes.

When the province of Manitoba was formed many Sioux families were camped in the parishes of Poplar Point. High Bluff and Portage la Prairie. They sent several deputations to the Lieutenant-Governor requesting reserves be set aside for them and necessary farming implements be provided. A reserve on Lake Manitoba was proposed, but the Sioux were afraid to settle near their former enemies, the Saulteaux of Red Lake. In 1874 lands were set aside for them in Manitoba and the scattered families banded together on the Assiniboine River, the Oak River and at Birdtail Creek.

In 1876, a band of Sioux living in the Qu'Appelle district of the area then regarded as the North-West Territories, (now part of Saskatchewan), sent their chiefs to convene with Lieutenant-Governor Morris and were granted a reserve. The following year another reserve was set aside for a band who hunted in the Turtle Mountain area at Oak Lake. Reserves at Moose Woods and Prince Albert were later assigned.

After the defeat of the American cavalry at Little Bighorn in June, 1876, hundreds of Sioux refugees came into Canada under the leadership of Sitting Bull, and met no resistance from Canadian Indians. Peace with the Saulteaux had been made, thus ending the centuries-old enmity between the two peoples.

Major Crozier of the Royal North-West Mounted Police was Commanding Officer of Fort Walsh and dealt firmly and fairly with Sitting Bull, and with Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, he maintained peace on the prairies. American commissioners approached Sitting Bull requesting his return and although he refused initially, he later did return, leaving a small number of his tribe who became Canadian citizens in the years that followed.

Before the arrival of Europeans the buffalo provided the prairie Indians with virtually all the raw material they required to exist. Food, shelter, garments, weapons and fuel were derived from the buffalo.

The buffalo was the focal point in the day-to-day life of the plains Indians. The largest mammal in North America, the male, or bull buffalo, could weigh as much as 2 500 pounds and stand more than 6 feet at the shoulder. The imposing size, coupled with its keen sense of smell and hearing made this animal a challenge for even the most agile of hunters.

Prior to the acquisition of the horse, tribes like the Blackfoot, Assiniboine and Plains Cree devised sophisticated hunting techniques which were quite effective. For example, along traditional migration routes, on either side of buffalo trails, clusters of brush, branches and stone were arranged so that they converged at a chosen location on the plain. These V-shaped alignments served to direct the buffalo into a corral, or pound, at the end of the funnel where the milling animals were slaughtered by eager hunters. A famous Plains Cree chief, renowned for his ability to construct corrals for stalking buffalo, was called Poundmaker.

The topography of the prairies was, to a large extent, rolling plains which stretched for hundreds of miles without relief. However, in certain locations, the open terrain gave way to steep cliffs and hunters made use of these during the buffalo hunt when they would stampede entire herds over a precipice. This method enabled a community to secure large quantities of meat during a single hunt.

To maximize the efficiency of the hunt individual communities would often band together. Men, women and children were involved and each person had a specific task. Several days before a hunt, a ritual was held imploring the Sacred Buffalo for success. Scouts were sent out to determine the whereabouts of the migrating buffalo. Chutes similar in design to those used with pounds were employed, and women fortified the alignments leading to the rim of the valley.

When word was received that the grazing buffalo had begun to approach the outskirts of the encampment, silence descended upon the community. Participants in the buffalo drive chose strategic places: women and children carefully concealed themselves amidst the alignments, and men armed with spears, bows and arrows, made their way down the steep cliffs below the narrow point of the chute. Meanwhile, hunters had crept up behind the unsuspecting buffalo herd and gradually guided it closer to camp. When the wind was favourable, fires were made so that the smoke compelled the scattered buffalo to drift in the desired direction.

When the time was right, hunters surrounding the flank of the herd moved quickly towards the animals, uttering loud cries and waving blankets. Stricken with terror, the buffalo would break into a gallop and enter the wide mouth of the chute. In an effort to escape, some might try to break through the barriers bordering the plain, but their movement was checked by women and children who waved blankets and shouted, further confusing the frightened buffalo. In this manner, the momentum of the buffalo drive grew as the herd stampeded down the plain and through the narrow end of the chute. Hundreds of animals plummeted over the rim, falling to their death or being killed by hunters.

Buffalo jumps often proved more successful than the pound system and yielded a reliable source of meat for the hunters of the plains. The Old Women's Buffalo Jump and Head Smashed In Buffalo Jump are two of Alberta's most famous traditional hunting sites.

A different hunting strategy evolved with the advent of the horse and less emphasis was placed on communal hunts.

The 'surround' was a technique employed by hunters who would band together on their horses and encircle a group of animals. While most hunters remained on the perimeter thrusting spears and carefully aiming their arrows, there were those who entered the mainstream of the milling buffalo to make the kill. As the animals were slaughtered, the horsemen reduced the size of the circle until many of the animals had been killed.

Whenever possible, buffalo were driven into areas where they would flounder and be easily killed by hunters. In summer the plains Indians might guide a small herd of buffalo into marshes where they would become stranded and fall prey to hunters; during winter, deep snow or thin ice became ideal entrapments.

Indian buffalo hunters of old devised still other ways to stalk their quarry. The stealthy stalk was a challenge for even the most skillful man. Because the buffalo feared few animals, a hunter seeking a fine bull might wrap himself in a wolf skin and creep to within killing range of the beast.

In his Narrative of the Canadian Red River, written in the late 1850's, the explorer Henry Hind colourfully describes the prowess of a Plains Cree hunter; ". . .the young Plains Cree threw off his leather hunting shirt. jumped on a horse, and hurried across the valley. Dismounting at the foot of the bank, he rapidly ascended its steep sides, and just before reaching the top, cautiously approached a large boulder which lav on the brink, and crouched behind it. The buffalo was within forty yards of the spot where the Indian crouched and (was) slowly approaching the valley. . . When within twenty yards of the Indian the bull raised his head. snuffed the air, and began to paw the ground. Lying at full length, the Indian sent an arrow into the side of his huge antagonist. The bull shook his head and mane, planted his fore feet firmly in front of him, and looked from side to side in search of his unseen foe, who, after driving the arrow, had again crouched behind the boulder. Soon, however, observing the fixed attitude of the bull, a sure sign he was severely wounded, he stepped to one side and showed himself. The bull instantly charged, but when within five vards of his nimble enemy, the Indian sprang lightly behind the boulder, and the bull plunged headlong down the hill, receiving after he had passed the Indian, a second arrow in his flanks. . . After one or two efforts to rise, the huge animal dropped his head and gave up the strife."

Communal hunts took place in June, July and August, when the buffalo were fat, their meat prime and their hides easiest to dress. The hunters themselves went about the shared task of butchering and skinning the animals and the buffalo were divided according to the needs of each family. A special allotment was made for the sick and aged of the band.

Before the buffalo hide became a much sought-after trade commodity, the people of the plains wasted very little meat, preparing and preserving it in a variety of ways. Buffalo meat was boiled or roasted, and often dried to retain its nutritional value. In early times clay pots were used for cooking, but were later discarded in favour of strips of buffalo hide sewn together and supported by stakes. These buffalo-hide bags were filled with water and hot stones, and meat was dropped in and boiled.

On occasion, buffalo meat was sliced into thin sheets, some measuring two by three feet, which were hung from a scaffolding of poles and allowed to dry, then stored in waterproof intestine bags. Another way sun-baked meat was preserved was the preparation of pemmican. Dried meat would be pounded into a powder-like substance and then blended with bone marrow and berries. Once pemmican had been prepared and stored, it could be preserved for years.

Buffalo tongue, a favourite delicacy fancied by the plains Indians, was also dried, but always eaten whole. Some tribes made a type of blood sausage using the intestine as a casing. Tallow was rendered and stored in skin bags.

The preparation of buffalo hides was always the responsibility of the women, as traditionally the hides became their possessions regardless of what use they were intended for. So although the man was master of the household in tribes like the Plains Cree, the woman owned the tipi which she had sewn from buffalo skins.

The tanning of a buffalo hide was a lengthy process which involved scraping excess flesh from the furry skin and then dehairing it. Fat was used to soften the skin, and a mixture of buffalo brains, tree bark, and crushed liver was rubbed into it at different stages of the tanning process. When this was done, the skin was soaked, thoroughly washed, and then hung to dry. A woman usually spent many hours kneading the skin to soften it, particularly if it were to be used for clothing. To further preserve the leather, it was smoked.

The leather was dyed with various mixtures of roots and earth, if it were to be used for ornate garments. Tipis of buffalo hide were decorated using the same natural dyes. Motifs, painted on tipi walls by hunters, recounted personal exploits, honoured personal guardian spirits or warded off evil spirits.

Aside from lodge covering and clothing, the buffalo hide might be tailored into a saddle or cut into strips for a bridle. Before the days of horses the plains Indians travelled on foot and forded rivers in tub-like vessels fashioned from buffalo hide and branches, known as bullboats.

Prior to the influx of traders and trade goods buffalo horns were used as spoons and drinking cups, with bones serving as scrapers or other implements. Sinew was carefully removed and used as thread. The shaggy hair was plaited into halters, and hooves were boiled and rendered into a type of glue. Even the tail served a purpose — as a fly swatter.

The availability of fuel for fires posed little problem as dried buffalo excrement was gathered when wood was scarce. During times of inter-tribal warfare, "buffalo chips" were often preferred because they produced relatively little smoke.

Explorer Henry Hind travelled across the Canadian prairies in 1858 and was most impressed by the extent to which Plains Cree existence was linked with the buffalo, horse and dog. Of the Cree he wrote: "It may truly be said that they exist on the buffalo, and their knowledge of the habits of this animal is consequently essential to their preservation. ... Next to the buffalo the horse is the mainstay of the prairie Indians. . . Next to the horse, the dog is the Prairie Indians most valuable friend. . . ."

It is not known precisely when the Indians of the Canadian plains first obtained horses. The Spaniard, Coronado, introduced them to the Indians of the southern plains in 1541 where the horse grazed contentedly and its numbers soon increased. Stray horses formed wild herds and were much sought after by Indian tribes. As soon as the southern Indians became aware of their usefulness, they organized raiding expeditions to capture as many as possible. Soon the northern tribes procured horses from their southern acquaintances. Each tribe referred to the horse in a different manner. For the Sioux, the horse was "sunka waken", or mysterious dog. The Blackfoot named their steeds "ponokomita", or elk dog. "Mistatim", or big dog was the name which the Cree gave to the horse.

The plains Indians were once a pedestrian people with dogs being the only beast of burden. However, the load these animals could carry was small and limited the possessions a family could accumulate.

When horse trading became more extensive, the plains Indians soon exploited the potential value of the horse. Once broken in, it could haul large loads, thus horse owners could move freely, expand their territory and make long journeys. Travel and hunting became easier.

Inter-tribal relations changed radically with the introduction of the horse. It was a sign of bravery to excel in stealing horses from one's enemies. Glory, prestige, and the control of the buffalo migration routes were the chief motives for raiding and counter-raiding.

Some horses were valued more than others. War ponies or buffalo horses were prized possessions. The pack horse, being old and of no use to hunters, became the responsibility of the women. On the trail the pack horse usually pulled a travois, a simple frame constructed from two long poles lashed together in the form of an X and secured to a harness. Supplies and family possessions would be packed on the travois and hauled to encampments.

The introduction of the horse transformed the social life of the plains tribes as horse racing became a favourite sport. When several bands gathered together for festivities bets were made and many personal possessions lost and won. A number of bands practised the Horse Dance and special songs and rituals were attributed to the animal. Often horses were led to the dance area and given away which added to the donor's prestige and honour. A man's wealth was determined by the number of horses he owned, and it was not uncommon for one person to own more than 75 animals. A rich man might send 15 horses to the lodge of the girl he wished to marry.

Great care was taken in the making and decorating of saddles, and horses were painted and draped with strings of feathers for important ceremonies. Special medicine men attended to the horses, and before going on a raid both horse and rider took part in a ritual.

Roman Catholic

The first missionaries in the prairie region were the French Jesuits, Father Claude Coquart, 1742, and Father de la Morenerie, 1750, who accompanied Pierre de la Verendrye and his sons on some of their western journeys.

In 1818, on the advice of Lord Selkirk, the Rev. Joseph Norbert Provencher was asked to establish a mission at St. Boniface, Manitoba, on the Red River, Father Dumoulin and Guillaume Etienne Edge accompanied him, and they built a combined house and chapel on land granted as a seignory by Lord Selkirk, Father Provencher organized a school and conducted classes in the chapel. He introduced to the Indians such agricultural skills as growing wheat and using a plough. Besides agricultural instruction, he strove to indoctrinate his Indian parishoners in the ways of the Church.

The first group of Oblates of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.) came to St. Boniface in 1845, in response to a request for assistance from Bishop Provencher. Fathers Aubert and Taché were the first to arrive, with the latter succeeding Bishop Provencher in 1853.

Father Scollen, O.M.I., was the first Irish priest to become involved in the missions of the far west, and was working among the Blackfoot at the time of Treaty No. 7.

In 1833 an experimental school was established in Manitoba at St. Paul's, later St. Eustache, to provide Indians with agricultural instruction. The school was managed by Rev. Georges Antoine Belcourt, who later prepared a grammar of the Saulteaux language.

Rev. Thibault made missionary journeys from the Red River in Manitoba to Edmonton, Alberta, where he established Ste. Anne's Mission in 1842. By 1843 he had travelled as far west as the Rocky Mountains. Father Bourassa was sent to Ste. Anne's in 1844, and Father Albert Lacombe a year later. Father Lacombe devoted his life to missionary work and became a close friend of the Indians, often approaching the Government on their behalf. He prepared Cree and Blackfoot language instruction books.

The Grey Nuns of Montreal organized mission schools in Alberta at Lac Ste. Anne in 1859, at Ile à la Crosse in 1860, at St. Albert in 1862 and at Lake Athabasca in 1874.

Anglican

The first Anglican missionary was Rev. John West, chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company. He was sent to the Red River Colony in 1820. With the encouragement and aid of the Church Missionary Society, he organized a school in 1822 which several Indian boys attended and were instructed in agriculture and other subjects. Rev. E.T. Jones (1823) and Rev. W. Cochrane (1825) succeeded him, and by 1828 there were four schools where Indian children were cared for and educated. The school founded by Mr. West continued to operate as a boarding school with Rev. John MacCullum as administrator from 1833 to 1849. At that time the first bishop of Rupert's Land, Bishop Anderson, assumed the responsibility.

Bishop Anderson died in 1864 and was succeeded by Rev. Robert Machray, whose diocese extended from Ontario to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Arctic Ocean to the International boundary. Before he left office, he had organized this vast territory into nine dioceses.

In 1833 another school was built 12 miles away by Rev. Cochrane, to instruct the Saulteaux in agricultural skills. Joseph Cook, son of an English father and a Cree mother, was the first schoolmaster. The school is purported to have had an average attendance of 30 pupils.

À Cree mission was organized at The Pas in 1840 by Henry Budd, an Indian convert. In 1846 mission stations were established as Lac la Ronge and Ile à la Crosse by James Settee and James Beardy, also Indian converts.

Outstanding among the early Church of England missionaries were Archbishop James Hunter, who began missionary and educational work in Alberta in 1858, and William Carpenter Bompas, who from 1865 to 1890 devoted his life to missionary service. In 1879 Bishop McLean opened Emmanuel College in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, for the purpose of training Indian people to partake in Church of England activities.

Methodist

The Wesleyan Methodists missionary work among western Indians commenced in 1840 when Rev. James Evans, accompanied by Rev. Henry Steinhauer and Rev. Peter Jacobs (Indian converts), went to Norway House in northern Manitoba, After Steinhauer's death in 1884, his two sons carried out his work, making journeys into remote areas of Saskatchewan and the North. Rev. Evans is noted for his design and development of the Cree syllabic system of writing, and the printing of Cree religious books. Missionaries of other denominations adopted Evans' system and thus a written language was given to Indians dwelling on the expanse from the Great Lakes to the Rocky Mountains. Rev. Robert T. Rundle was the first missionary to reach the Edmonton area. From 1840 to 1848 he lived among the Indians, accompanied them on hunting expeditions, preached to them and taught them. In 1853 he was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Wolsey, who worked among the Cree, Stoney and Blackfoot.

The first mission school was organized at Whitefish Lake in 1863 by Rev. George McDougall and his son, Rev. John McDougall. Rev. Steiner, resident missionary, assisted in the work, and the first teacher was Mr. Williston. In 1864 the McDougalls established a school at Pakan, and Rev. John McDougall organized the first schools in the south of Alberta. The schools were attended by children of the area and by some who came from a distance and boarded in the neighbourhood. Children of Indians, Métis and white settlers were enrolled, and the schools were maintained by local inhabitants.

In the winter of 1876 George McDougall lost his way on the prairies and froze to death. By alleviating discontent among the Indian people, he successfully paved the way for the negotiations of Treaty No. 6.

Presbyterian

Rev. John Black went to the Red River settlement in 1851. In 1866 the congregation of Kildonan on the Red River subscribed \$500 to send Presbyterian missionaries to the Indians further west. Rev. James Nisbet and Rev. John McKay were sent to the Cree Indians of porthern Saskatchewan.

Prior to 1870, when Manitoba was made a province, the education of the Indians of the prairie provinces was entirely in the hands of the missionaries — Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian.

Each successive treaty drawn up in the years that followed contained a clause promising the establishment and maintenance of schools on reserves as soon as the Indians settled thereon, and expressed the desire to have school facilities.

Before the conclusion of Treaty No. 1 in 1871, two schools were in operation in that district on the St. Peter and Fort Alexander reserves. Within the territorial boundaries of Treaty No. 2, the only school that had been established was at Fairford. These schools were conducted by the Church Missionary Society of England. The school at St. Peter's, however, received the sum of \$200 per year from Indian funds, by arrangement with the Superintendent General.

Beginning with the fall term of 1873 the Government paid salaries of \$300 per annum to the teachers of each of the existing schools, and grants were authorized to schools at Rossville Mission, Nelson River and Norway House.

Government policy was to provide and pay for a teacher as soon as the Indians on any reserve erected a suitable building for a schoolhouse. Grants were \$300 per annum when the average daily attendance was 25 pupils or more. The rate was one dollar per month per pupil for schools with smaller attendance.

In 1876-77 school grants were authorized to the Little Saskatchewan, White-fish Lake, Roseau River, Black River, Lake Manitoba and St. Albert reserves.

For some time there was much controversy over the purpose of Indian schools. Many educators believed that farming and light industry should be taught to help them become self-supporting on their reserves. The days of hunting and a land-oriented existence were fast drawing to a close. The situation was further complicated by a reluctance on the part of Indian parents to send their children to school. A child was, more often than not, needed at his home to assist in the day-to-day family chores.

In 1879, after a study focusing on the operation of industrial residential schools in the United States had been published, Nicholas Flood Davin, Canadian Superintendent of Education, recommended that four such schools be established on the prairies. By 1884 three industrial schools were opened: at Battleford under the auspices of the Anglican Church, with Rev. Thomas Clarke as principal; at Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, with Father Huguenard (Roman Catholic) as principal; at High River, Alberta, with Father Lacombe (Roman Catholic) as principal.

The school at Battleford was open to 30 Indian boys, and other schools were authorized to enrol up to 12 girls in addition to male students. The girls were to be supervised by Reverend Sisters.

The object of industrial schools was to impart a practical knowledge of animal husbandry and mechanical trades. The children were instructed in language skills, with emphasis on reading and speaking English. Elementary studies generally offered in regular schools were also pursued by Indian students.

The day schools were beset by many difficulties. Many of the reserves were so remote from white settlements that it was difficult to obtain teachers. Indian parents frequently failed to comprehend the purpose of schooling, and sometimes children were insufficiently clad to attend classes. Despite the difficulties, several day schools were conducted with marked success. By 1885, in addition to the three industrial schools, 44 day schools were in operation on the prairies, with an attendance of 1300.

During the 1890's many day schools were closed in favour of residential schools.

The placing of farming instructors on various reserves was an early form of adult education and by 1885, 26 such instructors were resident on reserves.

By 1887 there were five boarding schools which received per capita grants from the Department and were run under the auspices of the religious denominations. These schools were intended to serve as feeders for the industrial schools, and were believed to be more beneficial to Indian pupils because attendance was assured. It was recommended that younger pupils be sent to boarding schools and older ones to industrial schools.

Industries taught the boys included agriculture, printing, carpentry, black-smithing and shoemaking. The girls received instructions in sewing, cooking, washing, ironing, tailoring, knitting, dairy work and general housework. These trades were considered to be of value when they returned to their reserves.

An Order-in-Council, passed in 1892, outlined the arrangements to be made between residential schools (including industrial and boarding schools) and the Government. The buildings were to be the joint responsibility of the Government and the management. The Government would furnish materials for repairs, and the management perform the labour. Books and appliances for educational purposes were supplied by the Government, Maintenance, salaries and expenses were paid by the management out of the per capita grant. Rates of per capita grant were fixed for each school. Parents were not charged for their children's attendance at such schools. The management agreed to conform to the rules of the Indian Department, as laid down from time to time, and to maintain a certain standard of instruction in the schools. Dietary and domestic comfort were also terms of the agreement. Inspectors and officers of the Indian Department were required to file periodic reports on the status of residential schools.

The Order-in-Council governed the manner of financing Indian and residential schools until 1957, the amount of per capita grant varying with local circumstances and economic conditions.

A report on activities at the Hobemma school in Alberta in 1900 stated that all pupils were receiving instruction in religion, reading, writing and arithmetic. The report stated that 100 bushels of potatoes and 50 bushels of other vegetables were cultivated that year. It records the girls as having made 50 dresses, 100 aprons, 100 pairs of shorts and 60 pairs of stockings. As Government grants did not meet total school operation costs, the schools tried to cut expenses by using their own produce.

By 1909 the trend of thinking with regard to education had changed, reverting to a preference for improved day school programs. Changes were made in day school management practices and policy. Particular emphasis was placed on securing appropriate teaching staff with the skills and tact to make school life interesting and meaningful to Indian children. A mid-day meal was provided at the schools, and where pupils lived far from the schools they attended, transportation was made available. Salaries of teachers were raised and small rewards were offered to pupils as an incentive for regular attendance and progress. Footwear and clothing were issued to needy pupils, and the regular classroom exercises were enlivened by recreation and simple calisthenics.

Industrial and boarding schools became essentially the same with respect to programs of study offered. Carpentry and husbandry remained the most practical subjects for boys, as did general housekeeping for girls. In response to requests from the churches for larger grants to subsidize residential schools, formal agreement was made in 1911 between the Department and the management of these schools. The per capita rate varied with local conditions. School buildings were improved where necessary to provide better accomodation and improved sanitary arrangements.

By 1918 the course of studies prescribed for provincial public and separate schools was strictly followed in the day schools, so that the Indian pupils could be prepared for advanced studies at institutions of higher learning.

In 1923 Governmental policy was expanded to finance all the capital expense at Indian residential schools, thereby releasing the funds of the missionary societies and orders for better instruction, food and clothing. Grants were offered to graduates of Indian schools showing academic promise and who wished to attend high schools, universities, business colleges, or trade schools.

Free universal education was extended to the Indians of Canada in 1928. The Annual Report on Indian Affairs, then under the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, for that year states:

"Parliament has provided appropriations for the fiscal year 1928-29 to meet the change heretofore borne by Indians. Free education for the Indians was definitely imposed by Treaty in some provinces and by usage in others and as the only exception to the rule was made in the case of the Indians of Ontario and Quebec who were fortunately in possession of tribal funds, it seemed discriminatory to refuse to extend to them the bounty of the Government in this regard. It has, however, been decided that in future the education of these Indians shall be carried on without cost to them, thus completing a system of free education."

In 1928 government costs incurred by providing education for Indian people were relatively low because many pupils were still enrolled in church-operated schools. Moreover, slightly less than half of the school-age children were not enrolled in any school. Funds used to administer education programs that year set a new high by reaching \$2 million for the entire country. Thirty years later, the annual expenditure had exceeded \$36 million.

During the 1930's increasing emphasis was placed on manual training and vocational instruction in all types of Indian schools. Materials for gardening and dressmaking were supplied to teachers of day schools, and new schools built had basement accomodation for manual training. In 1938 a mink farm was started at the Morley Residential School in Alberta.

During World War II there was difficulty in securing qualified teachers and attendance of Indian pupils due to the many lucrative employment opportunities existing at the time. Many schools resorted to correspondence courses. Pupils were often supervised in the classroom and their work sent out for correction. In the years immediately following the war, the schools were filled to capacity.

In 1948 an experimental policy was initiated to integrate Indian and non-Indian pupils in classrooms across Canada whenever possible. Attendance at schools adopting the new policy increased yearly.

Agreements were made with school boards near reserves and with provincial departments of education to enrol Indian pupils in provincial schools. Per capita grants were made in lieu of taxes for each pupil whose education was the responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs. Where schools had to be enlarged and buses hired to transport children, special federal grants were made to the school board. In some areas federal school facilities and buildings were turned over to provincial authorities for a nominal rent. The policy of interracial education had a sociological foundation, in that the mingling of

Indian and non-Indian children in classrooms and playgrounds provided a cross-cultural milieu whereby each people could learn to appreciate the other's customs and perception of life. The experiment proved to be a success in some areas and a failure in others.

From year to year the number of Indian children graduating from high school increased rapidly. In 1950, 367 students graduated from high school. At the end of the experimental phase of integrated schools in 1964, 3315 had graduated.

Audio-visual aids were introduced in 1953 in the form of motion pictures, radio and phonograph.

In 1957 a new system of financing government-owned residential schools was approved. Both day schools and residential schools were built, a noted institution being the Assiniboia Residential School in Winnipeg for Manitoba pupils in the higher grades.

In 1962 Alberta created the Northland School division to provide education opportunities through high school and vocational training in the northern areas of the province. With the consent of the people, and in partnership with the Federal Government, junior high schools were built as Wabasca and Fort Chipewyan.

A 1956 survey of approximately 50 per cent of the reserves in the country indicated that 25 per cent of the adult population was illiterate or semi-illiterate. A four-point plan for improving adult education was inaugurated and included:

1) literacy classes for the teaching of basic language and mathematical skills,

2) continued education classes for adults with limited schooling who wished to acquire improved skills,

3) brief trade and vocational courses to qualify individuals for increased earnings, and 4) a community improvement scheme to

raise the overall standard of the community through organized recreation and improved sanitation and housing. Classes were conducted by local teachers or part-time instructors. During the first year 146 adult Indians were enrolled in literacy or continuing education classes.

In 1958 there were 798 people enrolled in the program. In 1964 the number was 3,482, when 71 different courses were offered in 50 Indian communities.

Today, scholarships are awarded for academic achievement and to promote recognized talent in such fields as social work, nursing, music and art. This system, in effect since 1957, has proven to be successful. In addition to paid tuition at Canadian universities, stipends are paid to Indian students.

Leadership courses play an important role in the developing of self-governmen in Indian communities. Special courses are provided to meet the needs of band chiefs, councillors and other elected representatives. The programs operate on a regional or reserve level in cooperation with the universities. Committees responsible for schools, health and welfare, and homemakers clubs provide an important mechanism for leadership training.

Explorers and Traders

During pre-European times Indians roamed the prairies on foot and travelled in small bands. They transported the few possessions they owned with the help of domesticated dogs. Wildlife abounded, and many communities established seasonal hunting grounds near known buffalo migration routes.

Mobility was limited, and people remained in their chosen territory. Peace prevailed on the prairies and there was little conflict between the various tribes who dwelled in different regions. However, the day-to-day life of tribes like the Blackfoot, Assiniboine and Cree was to be altered with the arrival of the newcomers.

The first European settlement is purported to have been made by Thomas Button, an English seaman who spent the winter of 1612-13 at Port Nelson, on Hudson Bay near the mouth of the Nelson River. During the 17th century French fur traders from the eastern colonies became acquainted with the Cree and Assiniboine Indians, bartering with them for their furs, particularly beaver pelts. Both French and English traders brought firearms to bargain for prime furs.

The Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson Bay, later known as the Hudson's Bay Company, was established in 1670 under a charter granted by Charles II of Great Britain. This exclusive charter provided the Company with fur trading privileges over what is now the whole of Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, the southern half of Alberta, a large portion of the Northwest Territories, and other districts as well. Not only did the Company possess the power to control trade, it also had been granted total ownership of and jurisdiction over this immense territory.

During the initial years the Company restricted its activities to the coastal waters of Hudson Bay. Company post managers carried out the business of fur trading with the Indians, relying on their exclusive franchise to discourage interlopers.

The French challenged the authority of the charter as early as 1671, when enterprising French trading parties encroached on the Company's commercial endeavors. They had a distinct advantage over the British Company merchants operating out of remote coastal posts, in that they sought out the Indians and dealt with them directly.

The French fur trading, "Compagnie du Nord", was founded in 1676, but its efforts to trade with Indians dwelling on Hudson's Bay Company land were curtailed. The English opposed their use of Hudson Strait, and fur transport by land was difficult and expensive.

In 1682 the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Nelson, now York Factory, at the mouth of the Nelson River, on the western shore of Hudson Bay. In its early days the post frequently changed hands between the French and English, (it survives today as a historical site even though the Company discontinued trade there in 1958). In 1688 the Hudson's Bay Company erected Fort Churchill at the mouth of the Churchill River.

From 1690-92, Henry Kelsey, a young Hudson's Bay Company employee, lived among a tribe thought to be Assiniboine. He acted as peacemaker between warring tribes in order to secure a greater supply of furs for the Company.

The years preceding 1713 were marked by hostility between the French and English, and skirmishes involving rival fur traders were not uncommon. In 1713 under the Treaty of Utrecht, the Bay, named after explorer Henry Hudson, formally came under British jurisdiction. In 1732, Sieur de la Verendrye, his three sons, his nephew, and 50 Frenchmen travelled from Quebec and explored Lake Winnipeg. They established a trading post, Fort Charles, on Lake of the Woods, as well as Fort Maurepas at the mouth of the Winnipeg River; Fort Rouge, where Winnipeg stands today; Forts Dauphin, Bourbon and La Reine; and, Fort la Corne, built below the forks of the Saskatchewan River. The Saulteaux, Cree and Assiniboine tribes traded with the French at these forts.

During the 17 years that followed, a chain of posts was built reaching far up the Saskatchewan River.

This chain increased the competition for furs to such a degree that the Hudson's Bay Company ordered 60 inland voyages beginning in 1754. However, during the war between France and England, 1756-1763, the French forts were deserted or destroyed. The Indians then took the bulk of their furs to the coastal trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. As inland exploration became more widespread, the trade venture of the Company was once again threatened.

In 1767, James Finlay and Thomas Curry retraced the old French waterways from Montreal as far as Fort La Corne. In 1772, the Frobisher brothers, who were free traders, followed and built a lodging at Cumberland on a backwater of the Saskatchewan River within easy reach of Frog Portage. From their small base they intercepted the Chipewyan Indians en-route to the Hudson's Bay Company posts.

The Hudson's Bay Company took up the challenge and sent Mathew Cocking to Fort la Corne by a route previously established by Anthony Henday, the Company's first man to travel across Saskatchewan into Alberta, Henday's writings are still a unique source on Assiniboine and Blackfoot Indians, In December, 1772, Cocking met with the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre, but failed to persuade them to carry their furs and buffalo hides to remote Company posts. On Cocking's return, the Company decided that it must establish posts on the Saskatchewan waterways if it was to compete with the "peddlers" from Montreal.

In 1773, Samuel Hearne was commissioned to build Cumberland House near the site of the house built by the Frobisher brothers. Built on Cumberland Lake, it was the Hudson's Bay Company's first interior post.

About this time new traders were making their appearance, Peter Pond, Alexander Henry and other Canadian frontiersmen built trading houses and forts at Frog Portage (1774), La Crosse Lake (1776) and Athabasca River (1778-84). In 1784, the independent fur traders from Montreal united to form the North-West Fur Trading Company. Rivalry between the companies ensued.

European Influence

During the latter part of the 1700's, and throughout the early 1800's, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Fur Trading Company competed for Indian favour, building forts where cities and towns would later emerge. Fort Providence (Prince Albert), and New Fort Augustus (Edmonton) were among the most significant.

The outset of the 19th century was marked by accelerated settlement activity. On June 21, 1811, the Earl of Selkity purchased the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to a large tract of land in the Red River district for the consideration of 10 shillings, and certain agreements and understandings contained in an indenture. The following year he founded an agricultural settlement of Scottish immigrants on this land.

The immigrants arrived by way of Hudson Bay, and for some time before they reached the land sites designated for their use, their well-being was ensured by the Hudson's Bay Company. The Red River Colony, however, suffered at the hands of the North-West Fur Trading Company which feared the inevitable impact of a settled community on the fur trade. Land drainage and deforestation would surely result in the diminution of fur-bearing animals. Employees of the North-West Company, mostly Métis (people of part-Indian and part-European blood) regarded the newcomers with suspicion. The friction between settlers and Métis traders gave rise to open hostility and culminated in the Battle of Seven Oaks in 1816.

Although the Hudson's Bay Company, by its charter of 1670, had exclusive trade rights in the areas whose waters drained into the Hudson Bay, land settlement and agricultural development proved to be an entirely different matter. Indian people occupying the land were concerned about the effects of trade and settlement on their traditional pursuits.

In 1817 Lord Selkirk negotiated with the Cree and Saulteaux for the surrender of their claim to a land tract along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. The surrender of land was made to King George III and was signed by Lord Selkirk and five Indian chiefs. Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony was, however, not to prosper. Crop failures and harassment by militant fur traders impeded its growth. Before long, many of the original settlers abandoned their homesteads, and Lord Selkirk, who lost a personal fortune, returned to Scotland

The North-West Company amalgamated with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, and the license to trade for the latter embraced all the territory east of the Rocky Mountains. North-West Company employees released after the merger settled in the Red River Colony, as did many Métis. In 1831 the colony population stood at 2 417. By 1840 it had risen to 4 369.

In 1836 the Hudson's Bay Company assumed control of the Red River Colony. Colonists farmed the land, and Métis and Indians inhabiting the area pursued hunting, trapping and freighting activities for their livelihood. Native hunters and trappers found it difficult to live within the framework of the authority imposed by the Hudson's Bay Company. With the threat of the North-West Company existing no more, the Hudson's Bay Company had a monopoly over the fur trade and trading posts paid little for valuable furs.

Defying the Company, trappers smuggled their bounty to points in the United States. Though the amalgamation of the two companies did much to establish a more settled policy in the North-West, an uneasiness grew between those who lived off the land and those who exploited for profit. Pemmican, made from buffalo meat, was a staple food in early trading posts. When the American frontier began to extend westward, wanton slaughter of buffalo occurred. Often the carcasses were left to rot and the hides taken to furnish robes. By 1862-3 the number of buffalo had been greatly diminished.

The swift United States expansion had other repercussions on the Indians of Canada. American traders, seeking furs and horses, were laden with "firewater" (alcohol), arms and ammunition as payment. Inter-tribal warfare increased.

After Confederation in 1867 the new Canadian nation took immediate steps to include the Hudson's Bay Company's domains within its boundaries. William McDougall, newly-appointed Minister of Public Works, wrote to the Colonial Office in London, advising the British Government that the transfer of the North-Western Territory to the Dominion of Canada should not be delayed.

Ottawa sent John A. Snow to the distressed Red River colony to construct roads, stimulate development and provide employment. Those who worked on this project were not paid in cash. Purchase orders, valid only at a store owned by Ontario immigrant, Doctor John Christian Schultz, were issued. Prices were inflated and hard work brought few rewards. As survey crews planned routes, and roads became widespread, land rights were purchased by newcomers for next to nothing.

While negotiations were still in progress between the Hudson's Bay Company and the governments of Great Britain and Canada for the surrender of the Company's lands, Métis, opposing expansion and development of territory for which they claimed traditional ownership, banded together to halt surveyors. It was the arrival of Colonel S.J. Dennis and a party of surveyors in the outlying parish of St. Norbert that sparked the first protest on the part of the Métis.

Fearing the encroachment of an agricultural society and possible annihilation of their culture, the Métis turned to Louis Riel for guidance. Riel had recently returned after a 10-year absence from his people. When Colonel Dennis' team made an attempt to run their survey lines over the "hay privilege" of one of the Métis, Riel and his followers confronted them, blocking survey activity. Surveys stopped on October 11, 1869.

That same year the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to cede its territorial rights to the Crown in return for cash compensation of 300 000 pounds sterling to be provided by Canada, Rupert's Land and the old North-West Territories were then transferred by Great Britain to the Dominion.

When the Canadian Government appointed William McDougall as Lieutenant-Governor of the new territory, and conferred on him absolute power, the Métis became alarmed. They sought out Louis Riel to lead them and took up arms to prevent the Canadian Government from usurping their rights.

Louis Riel immediately called a National Committee into session, the purpose of which was to resist the appointment of the Lieutenant-Governor and his associates. In October 1869, Riel and his fellow Métis prevented McDougall from entering the land they deemed their own. A month later Riel took possession of Fort Garry and established a provisional government.

Early in the new year, the Canadian Government proclaimed a general amnesty and promised the Métis rebels protection. While negotiations were taking place, a group of men fraudulently claiming support of the Government tried to capture Riel. Several people were arrested on the authority of Riel's provisional government. One of them, Thomas Scott, was executed by a Métis firing squad in March 1870. This violation of Canadian law gave rise to protest in Ontario and the Federal Government was compelled to send troops.

During the same month delegates from the Red River settlement presented the Government with a Bill of Rights, prepared by Louis Riel and his provisional cabinet. The Bill of Rights resulted in the passing of the Manitoba Act in 1870. This Act became the basis for establishing the new "postage stamp" size province of Manitoba.

The province was promised a cash subsidy from Ottawa, and 1.4 million acres of land were assigned to be divided among the children of Métis heads of families living within provincial boundaries. Locally-elected responsible government was also promised. Formal amnesty for Riel was not part of the agreement.

In August, 1870, troops under the command of Colonel Garnet Wolseley arrived at Fort Garry. They found the fort abandoned as Riel had been forewarned and escaped. He sought refuge in the United States, confident that his people's future was now secure in light of terms stipulated in the Manitoba Act. In the elections that followed, Riel was elected Member of Parliament, but did not take his seat.

The North-West Rebellion — 1885

During post-treaty times, chiefs such as Crowfoot, Red Pheasant, Big Child and Poundmaker worked earnestly and with marked success at agricultural development on their reserves.

A Cree chief, Big Bear, opposed this idea, seeing it as degrading to the Indian stature. Wishing to uphold tradition, he fostered a defiant attitude among his followers and refused to settle on a reserve. Some Métis also shared Big Bear's apprehension with regard to change.

Many had adopted the new way of life, engaging in farming, but certain groups refused. These groups believed they could depend on the assistance of Indians to block settlers travelling from the east via the new railroad. Large tracts of land had been set aside for the settlers through grants arranged in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railroad.

In 1884 the rights of the nonconformist Métis became a dominant issue. Few Indians shared the hostility which the Métis displayed toward the Government. Indians who became involved in the Métis rebellion were lured by inducements from Louis Riel, who had returned from his Montana residence to once again lead his troubled people.

Some tribes were not yet settled on reserves, particularly Big Bear's following at Frog Lake, and were influenced into participating in rebellion. Indians in southern Alberta would have no part, being restrained by their chiefs, Crowfoot and Old Sun. Indians of the Edmonton district were emotionally linked to Riel's cause, but committed no overt acts. Indians in Manitoba and southern Saskatchewan remained loyal to the Crown, while those of the Duck Lake district in Saskatchewan played a prominent role in the uprising.

Riel formulated a Bill of Rights in December 1884, and sent it to Ottawa hoping to make government officials more aware of the Métis plight. As the months passed and no word came from Ottawa, many Métis grew impatient with Riel's moderate approach and agitated for military action. During February, 1885, meetings were held in the vicinity of Batoche, Saskatchewan, to plan strategy and the Métis leaders decided to resort to arms.

On March 17, Gabriel Dumont, Riel's main lieutenant, visited Chief One Arrow's reserve seeking Indian support and One Arrow's band was the first to join. Subsequently, Indian agent J.B. Lash was taken prisoner and on March 19, Riel proclaimed a provisional government and formed a council. Local resistance to the insurrection was quelled, with those opposed to the Métis cause being seized and held captive.

Soon, the Indian bands at Duck Lake joined the rebels. The Indian bands in the vicinity of Battleford also joined in the rebellion after the skirmish at Duck Lake where a small body of Mounted Police were repulsed and a Métis victory celebrated.

Dumont's men rode to Fort Carlton, hoping to capture arms and supplies to restock their arsenal. The police, realizing they could not hold the fort, set fire to it, and those who lived there were escorted to Prince Albert to await reinforcements from eastern Canada.

Riel had messengers take news of the Duck Lake victory to Big Bear and Poundmaker, asking for their support. They joined Riel's forces and exercised restraint over their warriors, but could not prevent the killing of nine white settlers at Frog Lake. The incident, considered an act of war, had come about as a result of a quarrel between a warrior, Wandering Spirit, and his brotherin-law, the Indian agent at Frog Lake. Wandering Spirit and seven Indians were later apprehended and hanged for their part in the killings.

As the momentum of the rebellion neared its peak, Canada's first national army, under Commanding Officer Major-General Middleton, travelled from the east on the new railroad to confront Riel, Dumont and the rebels.

Journeying as far as they could by rail, Middleton's men then marched overland, arriving at Clarke's Crossing on the North Saskatchewan River on April 20. Middleton's column of 800 continued their trek to Batoche, the Métis base camp, but were ambushed at Fish Creek. Under Dumont, the Métis forces checked Middleton's troops for a two-week period slowly retreating toward Batoche.

Middleton resumed the siege on Batoche on May 7, with firing beginning two days later. Using cannon and gatling gun, Middleton's men found these to be relatively effective against the entrenched Métis, and after three days of light skirmishing the Métis ammunition supply had dwindled and their morale had weakened. On May 12 a group of Middleton's men charged the trenches, overwhelming the Métis. The majority of them surrendered shortly thereafter. On Middleton's request, Chief Poundmaker, and later Chief Big Bear surrendered to the Canadian troops and the rebellion came to an end.

Louis Riel fled, but surrendered on May 15. In the months that passed he remained imprisoned, awaiting his trial. Riel was tried in Regina and hanged for treason on November 16, 1885.

Gabriel Dumont refused to surrender and sought refuge in the United States. He was later pardoned, and returned to Saskatchewan where he died in 1906 after dictating his account of the North-West rebellion.

Early during the settlement of North America, the British sovereign recognized as a matter of policy, an Indian interest in the lands occupied by the various native tribes. Such an interest could only be extinguished by mutual agreement between the Indian people and the Crown. This policy gave rise to the practice of making agreements or treaties, as they were later called, with the Indians. Treaty-making began in British colonial times in what is now the United States and was afterwards introduced into Canada.

As settlement burgeoned in Upper Canada after the American War of Independence (1775-1783), land cession treaties were made with the Indian people for the surrender of their interest in the land. At first, the returns were oncefor-all cash payments only. In later surrenders, however, the Crown undertook to set aside reserves, annuities and other considerations for the benefit of the people.

About 1850, there was a growing awareness of the potential for development and expansion of the Canadian North-West. An increasing trend in American settlement westward resulting from the completion of the Union Pacific Railway in 1864 evoked concern over the uncertain future of the fertile prairies.

Rupert's Land, the North-Western Territory and the vast expanse of land which lay west of Canada in 1867 held great promise for cultivation and settlement, for trade and commerce. To realize these goals, the Dominion first had to secure the land that would eventually make up the Canadian mosaic. Geographical unity became the driving force behind a series of "numbered" treaties conducted in rapid succession throughout the fertile belt — that area of prime agricultural land north of the American border between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains.

Treaty activity began in Manitoba and the North-West Angle of the Lake of the Woods, continued on throughout the prairies and northwest, and then back again to include all of northern Ontario.

The majority of post-Confederation treaties, notably those in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, were concluded before the final provincial boundaries were established. In 1871, Treaties Nos. 1 and 2 took in all of the fledgling province of Manitoba, including additional land north and west of its initial boundaries. Not until 1882 did Manitoba's boundaries expand and overlap the treaty lines. Finally, in 1912, Manitoba attained its present limits at the 60th parallel. Adhesions to Treaty No. 5. first negotiated in 1875, had already extinguished the Indian title in these northern regions in 1908, 1909 and 1910. Further treaty activity in the prairies predated the establishment of Alberta's and Saskatchewan's provincial boundaries. Only in 1905 were the present boundaries of these two provinces established. For Treaty No. 1, dated August 3, 1871, the Crown was represented by Indian Commissioner Wemyss Simpson, Lieutenant-Governor Adams G. Archibald and an assistant, the Hon. James McKay. McKay's rapport with the Indian people proved to be invaluable during the negotiations with the various tribes. The Chippewa and Swampy Cree Indians surrendered a tract of land covering some 16 700 square miles.

By Treaty No. 2, dated August 21, 1871, the same representatives secured a surrender from the Chippewa Indians of agricultural and timber lands to the north and west of Manitoba. The area ceded was 35 700 square miles.

In December, 1872, Alexander Morris replaced Archibald as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. On October 3, 1873, Lieutenant-Governor Morris officiated at the Treaty No. 3 negotiations, whereby safe passage for immigrants travelling between Ontario and Manitoba was secured. Often referred to as the Lake of the Woods link, the territory ceded under Treaty No. 3 provided access to the west, facilitating expansion and further development.

By Treaty No. 4, known as the Qu'Appelle Treaty, on September 15, 1874, the Treaty Commissioners, Lieutenant-Governor Morris, the Hon. David Laird, Minister of the Interior, and W.J. Christie, retired Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, obtained a surrender from the Cree and Saulteaux Indians of 74 600 square miles of land between the South Saskatchewan River and the International Border.

Treaty No. 5, the Lake Winnipeg Treaty, was concluded initially on September 20 and 24, 1875, at Berens River and Norway House. Commissioners Morris and McKay obtained from the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Indians a surrender of 100 000 square miles as far north as Split Lake and north of Treaty No. 2 and the young province of Manitoba. Treaty No. 5 prepared the way for steam navigation via Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan River. Subsequent territorial adhesions to Treaty No. 5 were made over a three-year period from 1908 to 1910.

By Treaty No. 6, dated August 23 and 28, and September 9, 1876, at Forts Carlton and Pitt, Morris, McKay and Christie obtained a surrender from the Plains and Wood Cree and Assiniboine Indians of 121 000 square miles encompassing most of the North Saskatchewan River district and extending as far as the Rockies.

By Treaty No. 7 (Blackfoot Treaty) on September 22, 1877, at the Blackfoot Crossing, the Treaty Commissioners, the Hon David Laird and James F. Macleod, Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police, obtained a surrender from the Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee and Stony of the remainder of the fertile belt (southern Alberta).

For the purposes of administration the treaty area was divided into two Superintendencies, that of Manitoba including Treaties Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 and that of the North-West Territories including Treaties Nos. 5, 6 and 7. Edgar Dewdney was appointed Chief Superintendent and was required to reside in his superintendency to maintain closer contact with the Indian people and supervise operations. Under the Superintendents were the resident Indian agents.

There was a considerable mixed-blood population in the North-West during the 1870's, namely the English-speaking "Scotch" or "Hudson's Bay" Indians, and the French-speaking Métis. Many of these people of mixed blood had their own farms and lands. They were confirmed by the Government in their land holdings and continued farming and trading for a livelihood. A large group was entirely identified with the Indians, living with them and speaking their language. They were recognized as Indians at Treaty time and were taken into bands with whom they resided. A third group lived in continual pursuit of the buffalo, following the migrating herds across the plains. This group did not partake in any post-Confederation treaty negotiations.

After the famous Minnesota Massacre in 1862, a number of American Sioux Indians took refuge in the Red River settlement. They refused to return to the United States despite the efforts of both American and British officials and were living peaceably in tents when the province of Manitoba was formed in 1870. The new settlers found the Sioux very useful employees on their farms. The Sioux made repeated requests for reserves where they themselves might take up farming.

Reserves were eventually allotted the Sioux at Oak River and Birdtail Creek in Manitoba; at White Cap, Wahpaton and Standing Buffalo in Saskatchewan. These Indian newcomers numbered about 1 500 in 1874. When hostilities broke out in the Territory of Montana in 1876, the Sioux in Canada refused to join their kinsmen. In 1876 another reserve was granted them at Oak Lake, Manitoba, allowing 80 acres to each family of five. Although land was granted the Sioux in Canada, no treaties were ever negotiated by the Canadian Government with them.

The North-West Territories acquired separate status and administration in 1875 by an Act bearing the same name. The Hon. David Laird became the first Governor.

The Hudson's Bay Company officially ceased trading in alcohol with the Indians in 1834, and the use of intoxicants was strictly forbidden by treaty up to 1876 on all reserves and from thereon by Indian Act legislation. The freetrader, however, was often a bootlegger who traded cheap, adulterated liquor for valuable hides and other furs. Whiskytrading forts such as Fort Whoop-up. Slide Out and Stand Off on the Belly River, and posts in the United States supplied an increasing flow of illicit spirits. Two tin cups of whisky purchased a buffalo robe, and four gallons of the liquor could purchase a fine horse. Exploited and imperiled, many of the Indians drank until they died. Indian leaders were alarmed, and through the missionaries and legitimate traders sought government intervention.

In 1873 the Dominion Parliament passed an Act to establish a military force in the North-West. Known as the North-West Mounted Police, the Force was comprised of 300 men and officers. In September, 1873, three divisions of the Force were organized at the Stone Fort, near Winnipeg, and proceeded to Dufferin, Manitoba, to await reinforcements from Montreal and Toronto. When the other groups arrived, the entire Force began the trek westward under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel French.

By mid-September French's men reached the Oldman River near the present site of Macleod. There they built a log fort, naming it Fort Macleod after the officer in charge of the unit. Soon after, Lieutenant-Colonel French was replaced by Colonel Macleod as the Force's chief officer.

Under Macleod's efficient administration law and order were established on the prairies. The North-West Mounted Police maintained a high standard of discipline and fairness throughout the Canadian frontier. The Force curtailed the influx and activity of whisky traders, and ended the state of disorder that had existed in Canada for many years. These scarlet-clad peacemakers came to be trusted by the Indians and were recognized as ambassadors of the Queen's good faith.

It is interesting to note that the prairie Indians were particularly fond of the tunic worn by the Force, and those fortunate enough to be given such a colourful and prestigious jacket no doubt prided themselves in its acquisition.

The North-West Mounted Police prevented outbursts of violence among the various Indian bands, suppressed horse stealing, and made day-to-day living more secure for all settlers. Yet another role played by the Force was its involvement in the welfare of scattered Indian bands who continued to pursue the near-extinct buffalo. The Mounted Police encouraged nomadic hunters to settle on reserves.

The Indians eventually realized, although somewhat reluctantly, that they would have to find some new means of subsistence and many turned to agriculture. In 1877 the newlyorganized North-West Council passed an ordinance for the preservation of the buffalo, but was powerless to stem the destruction south of the border — it is estimated that 50 000 a year were shipped from Fort Benton. Montana.

In the winter of 1878-79 there was much suffering on the western prairies from want of food. The Federal Government supplied liberal relief, issuing rations of beef, flour, tea and tobacco, and attempted to settle the destitute Indians on reserves with the utmost speed.

Many Indians were apprehensive about the inevitable change in their lifestyle. Though farming appeared to be the only solution, they were hunters by nature and proud of their tradition. Crowfoot, head chief of the Blackfoot, was a man of unusual sagacity and influence. He saw the need for adopting a new mode of life and guided his people through the painful period of transition.

Treaty activity in the Canadian North-West did not resume until 1889, 12 years after the signing of Treaty No. 7 when the Wood Cree of the Montreal Lake region signed an Adhesion to Treaty No. 6. Less than a decade later gold was discovered in the Klondike and fortune-seeking miners flocked from Edmonton to the Yukon gold-fields. Consequently, safe passage for the newcomers had to be secured. In 1899 Treaty No. 8 was concluded for this purpose. Under this Treaty, 324 900 square miles were ceded covering the northern half of Alberta, the southeast portion of the Mackenzie District in the North-West Territories, the northwest corner

of Saskatchewan and the northeast quarter of British Columbia. Because of their peculiar geographic position and close relationship with neighbouring Alberta Indians, the Indian bands of northeastern British Columbia were brought under this Treaty.

Under Treaty No. 10, dated August 28, 1906, and the last of the post-Confederation treaties on the prairies, a large tract of land in northern Saskatchewan and a small area at the 55th parallel in Alberta were surrendered to the Crown by Chipewyan and Cree.

Features common to most of the Western Treaties included provisions for reserve lands; gratuities; annuities; medals and flags; clothing to chiefs and councillors; ammunition and twine; and schooling. Treaty No. 6 also provided for medical treatment and for assistance during times of pestilence and famine.

Treaty No. 1

Stone Fort August 3, 1871 Chippewa (Ojibway) and Swampy Cree Area ceded: 16 700 square miles

Indian Promises

To observe the treaty; maintain peace; not to molest persons or property; to assist in bringing Indian offenders to justice. (Same promises were made in subsequent treaties.)

Government Obligations

Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide \$3 to each Indian; farm stock
and equipment; a buggy to each chief
and headman, except to those of Yellow
Quill's band; 160 acres of land per family
of five; an additional 25 square mile
tract to Yellow Quill's reserve; deal with
intruders.

Recurring Expenditures

By census — \$25 per chief and \$5 per Indian; \$15 per headman in accordance with an Order in Council passed in 1876; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; maintain a school on each reserve at the people's request; prohibit liquor on reserve until authorized by legislation.

Treaty No. 2

Manitoba Post August 21, 1871 Chippewa

Area ceded: 35 700 square miles

Indian Promises

Same promises as made for Treaty No. 1.

Government Obligations

Once-for-all Expenditures Provide \$3 to each Indian; farm stock and equipment; a buggy to each chief and headman; 160 acres of land per family of five.

Recurring Expenditures

By census — \$25 per chief, \$15 per headman and \$5 per Indian; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; maintain a school on each reserve at the people's request; prohibit liquor on reserve until authorized by legislation.

Treaty No. 3

North-West Angle October 3, 1873 Saulteaux tribe of the Ojibway Area ceded: 55 000 square miles

Indian Promises

Same promises as made for Treaty No. 1.

Government Obligations

Once-for-all Expenditures Provide \$12 to each Indian; farm stock and equipment; tools; seed; flag and medal for each chief; one square mile per family of five.

Recurring Expenditures

By census — \$25 per chief, \$15 per headman and \$5 per Indian; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; \$1500 a year for ammunition and twine; adhering mixed-bloods to have their own fund; maintain a school on each reserve when advisable and at the people's request; prohibit liquor on reserve until authorized by legislation.

Ceded Lands

Not "sell, lease or dispose" of reserve lands without Indian consent; compensate for Indian reserve lands taken for public works; deal with intruders; hunting and fishing permitted on ceded lands, except on tracts taken up for mining, lumbering, settlement or other purposes; hunting and fishing subject to Federal "regulations".

Treaty No. 4

Qu'Appelle September 15, 1874 Cree and Saulteaux

Area ceded: 74 600 square miles

Indian Promises

Same promises as made for Treaty No. 1.

Government Obligations

Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide \$25 per chief, \$15 per headman
and \$12 per Indian; powder and shot,
blankets, cloth, tools, farm stock and
equipment; coats, medals and flags for
chiefs; coats for headmen; one square
mile per family of five.

Recurring Expenditures

By census — \$25 per chief, \$15 per headman and \$5 per Indian; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; \$750 a year for ammunition and twine; maintain a school on each reserve as soon as the people prepared for a teacher; prohibit liquor on reserve until authorized by legislation.

Ceded Lands

Same stipulations as for Treaty No. 3, except that trapping was permitted and compensation for reserve lands taken up for public works to be in lands or money.

Treaty No. 5

Lake Winnipeg
September 20, and September 24, 1875
Saulteaux and Swampy Cree
Area ceded: 100 000 square miles

(A much larger area was

(A much larger area was subsequently ceded through the Adhesions of 1908-9-10)

Indian Promises

Same promises as made for Treaty No. 1.

Government Obligations

Once-for-all Expenditures Provide \$5 to each Indian; tools; farm stock and equipment; flag and medal for each chief; \$500 moving costs for the Saulteaux of Saskatchewan River; 160 acres of land per family of five; 100 acres per family of five at Fisher River.

Recurring Expenditures

By census — \$25 per chief, \$15 per headman and \$5 per Indian; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; \$500 a year for ammunition and twine (an additional proportionate grant made in the 1908-9-10 Adhesions); maintain a school on each reserve when advisable and at the people's request. Prohibit liquor on reserve until authorized by legislation.

Ceded Lands

Same stipulations as for Treaty No. 3, with the exception of land entitlement.

Treaty No. 6

Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt August 23, 1876 and September 9, 1876 Plain and Wood Cree

Area ceded: 121 000 square miles

(Another 11 066 square miles were ceded through the Adhesion of 1889)

Indian Promises

Same promises as made for Treaty No. 1.

Government Obligations

Once-for-all Expenditures Provide \$12 to each Indian; farm stock and equipment; seed, tools; flag and medal, horse, harness and waggon (or two carts in lieu thereof) for each chief; one square mile per family of five.

Recurring Expenditures

By census — \$25 per chief, \$15 per headman and \$5 per Indian; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; \$1500 a year for ammunition and twine; \$1000 a year for "provisions" for the first three years; additional proportionate grants of ammunition, twine and "provisions" in 1889 Adhesion; maintain a school on each reserve when advisable and at the people's request; provide, under Agent's direction, a medicine chest for the benefit of the Indians, and assistance in the case of pestilence and famine; prohibit liquor on reserve until authorized by legislation.

Ceded Lands

Same stipulations as for Treaty No. 3.

Treaty No. 7

Blackfoot Crossing September 22, 1877 Blackfeet, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee and Stony Area ceded: 42 900 square miles

Indian Promises

Same promises as made for Treaty No. 1.

Government Obligations

Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide \$12 to each Indian; tools, seed, farm stock and equipment; flag and medal for each chief; rifle for each chief and headman; one square mile per family of five; additional land to the Blood, Blackfeet and Sarcee Indians for a 10-year period.

Recurring Expenditures

By census — \$25 per chief, \$15 per headman and \$5 per Indian; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; \$2000 a year for ammunition or otherwise for the benefit of the Indians; pay school teachers as advisable and when requested by the Indians.

Ceded Lands

Compensation for Indian lands taken for public works; hunting permitted on ceded lands, except on tracts taken up for mining, trading, settlement or other purposes; hunting subject to Federal "regulations".

Treaty No. 8

June 21, 1899 Cree, Beaver and Chipewyan Area ceded: 324 900 square miles

Indian Promises

Same promises as made for Treaty No. 1

Government Obligations

Once-for-all Expenditures
Provide \$32 per chief, \$22 per headman
and \$12 per Indian; tools, farm stock or
equipment, seed; two horses or a yoke
of oxen per chief; silver medal and flag
per chief; one square mile per family of
five; 160 acres per Indian living apart
from band reserves.

Recurring Expenditures

By census — \$25 per chief, \$15 per headman and \$5 per Indian; triennial sui of clothing to each chief and headman; spring provisions for several years; \$1 for ammunition and twine per Indian family "engaged in hunting and fishing"; pay school teachers as advisable.

Ceded Lands

Same stipulations as for Treaty No. 4.

Treaty No. 10

August 28, 1906 Chipewyan, Cree and others Area ceded: 85 800 square miles

Indian Promises

Same promises as made for Treaty No. 1.

Government Obligations

Provide \$32 per chief, \$22 per headman and \$12 per Indian; medals for chiefs and headmen; a flag for each chief; one square mile per family of five; 160 acres per Indian living apart from band reserves.

Recurring Expenditures

By census — \$25 per chief, \$15 per headman and \$5 per Indian; triennial suit of clothing to each chief and headman; ammunition and twine; assistance in agriculture and stock raising; provision of schooling as deemed advisable for the education of Indian children.

Ceded Lands

Same stipulations as for Treaty No. 4.

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In 1817 Lord Selkirk negotiated with the Cree and the Saulteaux tribes for the surrender of their claim to a land tract along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. The land cession was made to King George III, and the treaty was signed by Lord Selkirk and five chiefs. In earlier treaties such as this, chiefs would sign the document by drawing their own personal totem.

A map which accompanied the 1817 treaty and outlined the area ceded along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. The chiefs involved 'signed' this as well as the treaty proper.

Photographs: Public Archives Canada



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Principal signature page of Treaty No. 6. Representing the Crown at treaty negotiations were North-West Territories Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris, and Indian Commissioners James McKay and W.J. Christie. Their signatures precede the 'x' marks of the chiefs and councillors present at the signing of the treaty. As each 'x' mark was recorded beside the name of either chief or councillor, it was customary for the Indian leader to touch the pen, thereby demonstrating his acceptance of the treaty.

Subjects of Her Majesty the Queen They promise and engage that They will, in all respects, shey and abide by the Law; that they well maintain peace and good order between each other, and between themselves and other Johes of Indians and between themselves and others of Her Majerhy's subjects, whether Indian, Half Greeds or Whites, now whatstony, or hereafter to enhalit, any part of the said ceded tract; and that they will not molest the person or property of any inhabitant of auch Ceded Track, or the property of the blagesty the Queen, or inherture with as transfer any pressor, pursury or travelling through the said Tract or any part thereof, and thatten The Efficers of Her llayerty or bringing to justice and prosent any Indian offending against the Stipulations of this Treaty, or infringing the laws in force in the Country as ceded. In Willest Whereof Her Ugasty's said Commissioners, and the said Irelian Chiefe and "Gameillers, have kereun's subscribed and set their hands, at the Blackfoot Crossing of the Bow River, the day and year herein first above Written Signed by the Chiefo and Camcillors within named 3 in presence of the following Witnesses. The came having them for he explained Duried fined good work hard muchos and speed bottom communican Mykome afr: Como Lower Franchod Stelet Com. h. Ar M. P. + Sp a conhece Como. J. M. & any all Proving Chopo- mexico his & Head Cheef of the or Browfoot And faut Blackful nutor apier of de Sun In (But chuj of to Isan L. Hewreng millitart Blackfeet Stamioco tocar Broll head. his (Head chief of the In der him be the me Kasto or fred from marge want blacks Dh Floque Natose-Oristors (alf Grave En along phy lack Phr ay runned his Clokapin-Otocan mark Bad Head

Principal signature page of Treaty No. 7. At Blackfoot Crossing in 1877, the Blackfeet, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee and Stony tribes ceded 42 900 square miles of land to the Crown. David Laird, newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, and James F. Macleod, Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police, signed the treaty as did Crowfoot, Old Sun and other prominent chiefs.

The Transition Era

The Indians of Manitoba and the Territories requested the treaties because they were alarmed at the lessening supply of fresh meat — the buffalo — and the arrival of settlers. The most sagacious of their leaders foresaw as clearly as did the white leaders that they must seek a new food supply and a radically-altered lifestyle.

After the conclusion of the treaties, the Federal Government determined to carry out the provisions thereof in an exacting manner, with a view to making the Indian people self-supporting. The setting aside and surveying of reserves was commenced in each district.

By 1879 the Indians of Manitoba were nearly all settled on reserves and were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Government aid was provided in the way of seed in addition to the farming implements and livestock stipulated at treaty time. These Indians were accustomed to living on fish and small game. There were difficulties to be resolved, such as dissatisfaction with reserves, and complaints about food issues, the fault of unscrupulous contractors or of shipping conditions. When these problems were brought to the attention of the Government, they were set right at the earliest opportunity.

Farther west conditions were not as satisfactory. The Indians included under Treaty No. 7 had not yet been settled on reserve lands when the buffalo failed to appear. Canadian and American Indians continued to cross the International Border freely, and it was inevitable that clashes should arise between them. Government officials attempted to settle each group on its respective reserve.

In the fall of 1879 it was discovered that migrating buffalo were plentiful along the Milk River, south of the border. The Blackfoot, under Chief Crowfoot, followed the grazing herds and hunted the animals for more than a year. The hunters remained in American territory until the summer of 1881 when they returned impoverished and without horses.

The situation was worsened by the American Indians who attempted to keep the diminishing buffalo by starting prairie fires along the boundary line. In 1882, the presence of United States troops on the boundary line to prevent encroachments of the Canadian Indians, discouraged the buffalo from migrating into Canadian territory.

Hunger and starvation were rampant, and many Indians were kept alive by Government issue of rations, through the Indian agents or the North-West Mounted Police.

When possible, work was required in return for food, so that they would not become entirely dependent on the Government for subsistence.

Steps were taken to supply the Indians of Treaty No. 7 with cattle to start herds, as the terrain was considered ideal for cattle ranging. The imported cattle had to be carefully looked after during the first few years until they became acclimatized to the rigorous winters.

In the areas of Treaties Nos. 4 and 6 the buffalo had not disappeared entirely and the reserves were settled with some advancement made in agricultural development. However, while people enjoyed more favourable conditions than those further west, a considerable amount of food had to be issued by the Government.

Farming agencies were established on reserves for the dual purpose of instructing Indians in agricultural skills, and raising produce to provide food for native families in the vicinity. Farm labour was provided by the Indians who benefitted from the employment and instruction opportunity.

Some reserves, notably in the File Hills agency near Belcarres, Saskatchewan, became model training centres. The three File Hills reserves totalling 84 454 acres had a population of about 300 Cree. Half the land was swampy and suitable only for harvesting wild hay, and the wooded areas were left intact to be used for firewood and lumber. Open land was surveyed and set aside in 40-acre plots, which were given to men who had completed a course at the residential school on how to manage livestock, perform appropriate agricultural tasks and repair machinery.

Aspiring Indian farmers were given a loan to purchase a plough and a team of oxen. When a farmer's lands were ploughed and his first crop planted, he was eligible to apply for a \$125 housing grant. The design of his dwelling was simple and would be enlarged as he became more independent.

When the farmer was ready, he was given a patent to his land and could extend it as he prospered. The wives of farmers were encouraged to raise chickens, lay out a garden and keep a milk cow for the family. Records were kept by the Indian agent and the farm instructor, the latter assisting in the marketing of the produce.

Breeding stock was communal property and each farmer donated two loads of hay annually to feed these animals. Threshing machines and mowers were shared by the community, and their use was supervised by the farming instructor.

In the ranching country of Alberta, Indians were encouraged to raise cattle and horses for their own use and for sale. A man was considered self-supporting if he owned three head of cattle, though if he had a large family he would require more than three animals for slaughter. Each reserve had a slaughter house and arrangements were made for dividing the meat among the residents.

Indians who were destitute had ration cards, while self-supporting ones had ration books. Any extra meat the latter group delivered for slaughter was credited to them in a special beef account.

Some reserves ran their cattle in common, but had a distinctive brand on their animals. Herders were paid for tending the cattle during the grazing season. Owners put up a ton of hay annually to supply the winter feeding stations.

In 1883 the Canadian Pacific Railway pressed westward and many Indians were employed in construction work.

By the middle of the 1880's most Manitoba Indians had settled into a semi-agricultural lifestyle. Many had begun to be self-supporting. The Indians of the Territories also adjusted. They generally expressed satisfaction at the way the Treaty stipulations had been carried out, and with the extra help they had received.

Population

The Indian population of the prairie provinces at the beginning of the 19th century is estimated to have been about 30 000. The tribes were decimated by a smallpox epidemic in 1836 and there were recurrent epidemics until 1858. In 1900 the population was approximately 22 500, but thereafter a steady increase is shown. In December, 1968 there were 94 539 Indian residents in the prairie provinces, and a decade later the total population rose to 127 124. This 1978 figure may be broken down into 44 642 in Manitoba, 46 189 in Saskatchewan and 36 293 in Alberta.

The Indians of the prairies are grouped according to Bands, each occupying one or more reserves of land set aside for their use and benefit by the Canadian Government. As of December 31, 1978, there were 167 Indian Bands registered in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Chief Duck

Photographs: Public Archives Canada







Painted Tipi — Assiniboine



Mandan Bullboat





Warrior's robe — Blackfoot



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